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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 64th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 18 November 1992, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria)
(Vice-President)

Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa [33]
(continued)

(a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid

(b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa

(c) Report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports

(d) Reports of the Secretary-General

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(e) Report of the Special Political Committee

- United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa [34] (continued)

(a) Report of the Secretary-General

(b) Draft resolution

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 33 AND 34 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/47/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/47/43)

(c) REPORT OF THE COMMISSION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS (A/47/45)

(d) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/525, A/47/559, A/47/574)

(e) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/47/616)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/513)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/47/L.15)

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary): Since February 1990 we have witnessed many significant developments and measures towards the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa. The commitment by the Government of South Africa to abolish the apartheid system and the decision by the African National Congress (ANC) to suspend the armed struggle, the talks initiated between the Government and the ANC, the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of political parties and movements and the lifting of the state of emergency have brought the country to the threshold of a new era. Between October 1990 and June 1991 the main legislative pillars of apartheid were eliminated. In September 1991 a national peace agreement was signed by the South African parties. And after many years the world could at long last welcome a racially integrated South African team back into the Olympic games in Spain.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

Hungary, motivated by its strong commitment to the endeavours of the world community against this most abhorrent form of racial discrimination, joined the international consensus on rejecting and condemning apartheid in South Africa, a form of institutionalized State racism. Guided by its unchanged firm stance against all forms of discrimination based on race or ethnic or national origin, Hungary has also been encouraging all parties in South Africa to join in efforts to bring about an end to apartheid and to work for a peaceful transition to a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

With the creation of a negotiating framework in December 1991, the political process in South Africa reached a new stage. Despite wide political differences, these first broad-based negotiations, moving ahead for several months, brought hopes of an early political settlement in South Africa. But developments since May 1992 have demonstrated that the political process in that country remains fragile and vulnerable.

Violence in South African society, which has continued to bring fear and to undermine trust, culminated on the night of 17 June. The Boipatong massacre and the Bisho tragedy shocked the international community and provided graphic evidence of the consequences of political stalemate and of the violence that it engenders. These grave events interrupted the process of national reconciliation that had been under way for more than two years, just as they halted the discussions taking place in the framework of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

The wave of violence that has recently struck South Africa poses a serious threat to the future of the negotiating process - a process that has already had unquestionably valuable results and holds great hope for the future. Hungary has therefore welcomed the strong and unequivocal stand that the Security Council has taken on the issue of violence in South Africa.

For over four decades the United Nations has spoken clearly and loudly on apartheid. It is to the credit of the United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations that during the last couple of difficult months they have spared neither time nor effort to help to restore the necessary climate for the right political process to take root in that deeply troubled country.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

We believe that the intervention of the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, and the subsequent arrival of the United Nations observers to monitor the violence in South Africa are all positive contributions in addressing this question. All major political parties and organizations in South Africa have welcomed the deployment, in coordination with the structures of the national Peace Accord, of the United Nations observers, as well as those from the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Community and human rights organizations.

The work of the General Assembly is also complementary to the current efforts and initiatives undertaken by the Security Council and the Secretary-General. At the same time, the international community should continue to show its readiness to respond positively to any requests for further help that have the support of all the main parties in South Africa. The involvement of the United Nations should be aimed at reinforcing the peace structure that South Africans themselves have already built.

We urge the people of that country to hear the message contained in Security Council resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992) - to end the violence and resume the negotiations. We hope that, in accordance with the schedule laid down in the Record of Understanding reached by the Government of South Africa and the African National Congress on 26 September, the negotiations will be commenced soon.

We earnestly hope that, despite the setbacks, progress in the constitutional negotiations will soon lead to the establishment of a democratic, non-racial South African society. The socio-economic dimensions of the transformation to a new society are coming into focus with increasing

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

urgency. South Africa has to face its own economic and social problems, including the total elimination of the legacy of apartheid. We believe that the international community, in cooperation with a non-racial and democratic Government in South Africa, will also appropriately address the consequences of apartheid in the fields of the economy, culture and health.

As the Secretary-General rightly pointed out in his recent report to the General Assembly, the role of the international community in the establishment of a democratic, non-racial South Africa can, of course, be only complementary to that played by the various political groups in the country. Responsibility for achieving a just and long-lasting agreement must rest with the South Africans themselves. For its part, the United Nations should continue to assist the people of South Africa as a whole to attain the goals that they have set for themselves.

Hungary wishes, within its modest means, to encourage all steps aimed at the complete dismantling of apartheid by peaceful means and at the creation of a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Mr. BUTLER (Australia): When my delegation addressed the Assembly on this item at its forty-sixth session we expressed optimism that a course had at last been charted for the dismantling of the system of apartheid in South Africa - a system that has always been an offence to human rights and dignity.

Unfortunately, in the year that has passed since then, we have seen those embarked on that historic and long-overdue journey lose their way, to some extent. The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) has broken up in recrimination; centrifugal forces in South African society are exerting

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

stronger influence; and violence - the plague that seems to be endemic in a society long dislocated by apartheid - has reached truly shocking and tragic proportions. Boipatong and Ciskei have been added to the grisly list of South African massacres, which is already far too long.

Our call now must therefore be for leadership - leadership from the South African authorities, and leadership too from all the parties to CODESA in realizing that there must be an end to the present malaise, that the remaining obstacles to the establishment of acceptable interim-government arrangements must be addressed at the negotiating table, that the momentum for change must be renewed, and that the people of South Africa must be spared the suffering of any further, unwarranted delay.

There is no way back from the stage that South Africa has reached. The only alternative to negotiation is continuing violence. As the Special Committee against Apartheid cogently remarks in its report, time is on no one's side in South Africa. Delay can only mean a further dangerous deterioration of the economic, social and political fabric.

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

There have been some positive signs in the past year. The unanimous adoption of Security Council resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992) sent strong, united signals from the international community to the parties in South Africa. As a further constructive and positive signal, my delegation looks forward to the consensus adoption by the General Assembly of the draft omnibus resolution on the eradication of apartheid, and we commend the Special Committee for the constructive and forward-looking approach it has adopted in preparing this text.

In July this year the Secretary-General dispatched Mr. Cyrus Vance as his Special Representative to South Africa. The momentum was maintained with a follow-up mission by Mr. Virendra Dayal. In adopting the Secretary-General's report on the Vance mission, the Security Council, in a concrete and constructive response to the problem of violence, authorized the creation and dispatch of the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa (UNOMSA). Together with observer teams from the Commonwealth in which Australia has been pleased to be able to participate, the European Community and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), UNOMSA has sought to dissuade the potential authors of further violence and help create a better environment for the successful resumption of negotiations. The related question of international assistance to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry has also been - and will continue to be - addressed sympathetically by the international community. But, I repeat, the onus is on the parties in South Africa to steer their country towards a genuinely non-racial and democratic future.

On the question of sanctions against South Africa, the Australian Government is firmly committed to the four-phase managed approach to the lifting of sanctions which was agreed by Commonwealth Heads of Government at

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

their Summit meeting in Harare in October 1991. Australia played an active role in the elaboration of that policy through its participation in the work of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa. The aim of the policy is to maintain the pressure for change in South Africa, but at the same time to allow Commonwealth countries to give practical recognition and encouragement to important changes as they occur. Naturally, the final phases in the package are tied to agreement on transitional arrangements, agreement on the text of a non-racial democratic constitution and the installation of a new, post-apartheid South African Government.

Australia is deeply aware that the socio-economic legacies of apartheid will need to be addressed for years after the apartheid Government in South Africa has been swept away, so we are playing our part now in a practical way as a responsible member of the international community and a concerned neighbour of South Africa in international efforts to address this important issue. As the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Gareth Evans, remarked last year in an address to the Mandela Foundation in Sydney, Australia:

> "The task ahead of South Africa is awesome. The legacy of apartheid, in social and economic as well as political terms, is appalling".

It is appalling, and growing rapidly as the delay in achieving a political settlement lengthens, to paraphrase the report of the Special Committee. If those who are crafting the new South Africa do not make haste they may be left with an economy which is not merely lame, but permanently crippled and incapable of responding to the legitimate aspirations of the victims of apartheid.

Consistent with our concerns and convictions in this area, we continue to support the work of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. We welcome their continuing efforts to adapt their work to the changed circumstances in South Africa.

The Australian Government has also provided assistance to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. For example, we will provide $A22.7 million over the period 1990-1993 under the special assistance programme for South Africans to assist in the reintegration and development of South African victims of apartheid, particularly for humanitarian and educational activities and the return and resettlement of African National Congress (ANC) exiles and their families. Of this amount, $A2 million is for the economic planning assistance programme for the development of an economic planning capacity for a post-apartheid South Africa, including the establishment of an institute of economic research, upgrading training and provision of scholarships in South Africa, and $A600,000 is for South Africans disadvantaged by apartheid to visit Australia for management experience and training opportunities under the auspices of the Australian South African training programme. In addition, the mandate of the Centre for the Study of the South African Economy and International Finance, established in London at Australia's instigation, covers not only the application of financial sanctions, but the quick and effective integration of the post-apartheid South African economy into the international financial system.

I began by expressing our grave concern that the historic process of replacing the apartheid Government in South Africa had stalled. Let me conclude on a more positive note by stating our conviction that the extraordinary heroism, patience and vision of Mr. Nelson Mandela and the

(Mr. Butler, Australia)

courage and pragmatism of Mr. de Klerk, which have brought South Africa this far along the road to freedom and racial equality, will not fail in this, the final mile.

Mr. KANE (Mauritania) (interpretation from French): I would first like to express the congratulations of the Mauritanian delegation to the Special Committee against Apartheid and in particular to its Chairman, Mr. Ibrahim Gambari, on their dedication and the businesslike way in which they have discharged the responsibilities entrusted to them by the General Assembly. As usual, their clear and well-documented report is sure to prove helpful to us in our examination of the issue.

When on 14 December 1989, at its sixteenth special session, the General Assembly adopted the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, the international community for the first time decided unanimously on a programme of action to transform South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial State. The resolution's adoption by consensus aroused great hope among the struggling people of South Africa, a hope reinforced two months later by the unconditional release from prison of Nelson Mandela, the great African patriot. These two important events and the claims of the new South African authorities to all and sundry who would listen that they intended a radical change in their policy of oppression raised new hope that the cross borne by the South African people for many decades would at last be laid down.

(Mr. Kane, Mauritania)

Two and a half years after those events, despite progress made in changing South Africa, despite the opening of the dialogue that began with the release of Mandela and despite the legalization of political parties, it must be acknowledged that the fundamental objective of the Declaration - namely, a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa free of apartheid - still remains to be attained. South Africa is still governed by a White minority regime, and the vast majority who are Black continue to be deprived of many rights, including the right to vote.

The prospects for a solution to this anachronistic problem remain dark, above all because of the deadly violence which threatens any real progress. And yet the Declaration had laid particular emphasis on the need for the South African regime to take special measures in order to create an atmosphere conducive to tranquil negotiations. What is more, the National Peace Accord signed on 14 September 1991 between the Government and the country's main political parties and organizations also encouraged hopes for a lasting peace that could lead at last to productive negotiations.

The launching of the negotiations in December 1991 confirmed those hopes. Unfortunately, the resurgence of political violence - the most tragic instance of which in the last few months was unquestionably the horrendous Boipatong massacre of 17 June 1992 - betrayed those hopes once again. That tragic incident elicited profound outrage throughout the international community, which in Security Council resolution 765 (1992) of 16 July called once more for a halt to the violence. The subsequent report of the Secretary-General (S/24389) proposed measures for reviving the needed dialogue; those measures were endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 772 (1992).

(Mr. Kane, Mauritania)

The Mandela-de Klerk meeting held on 26 September 1992 and the Record of Understanding signed at that time seemed to have revived the peace process which had been broken off since the Boipatong massacre.

Unfortunately, the postponement of the second Mandela-de Klerk meeting, which had been scheduled for 22 November 1992, is once again delaying the resumption of the indispensable dialogue hoped for by the international community. The Goldstone Commission's revelation, only yesterday, of subversive actions by certain special government units against Black political organizations is surely not likely in this context to encourage the trust needed for a fruitful dialogue.

All the encouraging measures and all the good will are destroyed, time after time, by the hydra of violence which the Government apparently has not the determination to strangle once and for all. How else can we explain the fact that the Goldstone Commission's recommendations have not yet been implemented? How else can we interpret the fact that, despite promises and agreements, political prisoners are still languishing in South Africa's prisons? Whom can the South African Government hope to convince that it does not have the means to maintain law and order?

While my country believes that a solution to the conflict in South Africa depends primarily on the South Africans themselves, it nevertheless feels that the international community also has a crucial role to play. For that reason, we think that the United Nations must continue to give active support to the dialogue process and, above all, must bring all its weight to bear on the South African leaders to put an end to the violence.

The international community must remain vigilant, for despite the repeal of the apartheid laws, apartheid is still far from being completely eradicated.

(Mr. Kane, Mauritania)

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania will continue to give its resolute support to the just cause of the oppressed South African people, until the advent of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Mr. SIDOROV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): In the period since the end of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly, the difficult process of important political changes directed towards the peaceful elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa has continued in that country.

An important stage in the process of establishing a basis for negotiations with a view to eliminating apartheid by peaceful political means was the first plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I), held in December 1991. Unfortunately, in spite of the progress achieved at the CODESA I talks, the second plenary session in May of this year produced no results.

However, we believe that the meeting on 26 September 1992, between President de Klerk and Chairman Mandela of the African National Congress (ANC) is one of the important steps on the way to breaking the deadlock in the negotiations.

The South African referendum held in March 1992, through which an impressive majority of white voters expressed support for the reform policy of President de Klerk, is testimony first and foremost to the victory of common sense and political realism over the outmoded inhuman policies of apartheid.

It should be emphasized in particular that the far-reaching democratic reforms were the result of many years of mass protest against the system of apartheid and of selfless struggle on the part of democratic forces, in which the African National Congress, headed by an outstanding champion of human

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rights and democracy, Nelson Mandela, played and continues to play a leading role.

We must also pay due tribute to President de Klerk, whose determined policy aimed at the elimination of apartheid is helping to make the reform process irreversible.

The positive changes in the political situation in South Africa were undoubtedly also facilitated by the energetic efforts of the United Nations and the international community as a whole, whose agreed position in favour of a speedy solution to the problem of apartheid by peaceful political means was reflected in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa and has been confirmed by subsequent consensus resolutions of the General Assembly.

However, much still remains to be done. The negotiation process has been made much more difficult by a wave of violence in South Africa which has involved the loss of human lives. It is quite obvious that the international community cannot accept any justification for violence, since it causes the loss of people's most fundamental right, the right to life. In the case of South Africa, violence also creates additional obstacles to the negotiation process and thereby threatens the vital interests of the entire population of South Africa.

With preparations under way for far-reaching reform in the country, the participants in the extremely complex and crucial process of building a new and democratic society should act reasonably, restrain their passions and do everything possible to see to it that violence as a means for achieving political ends is eliminated from the life of society.

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In such complex conditions of internal politics, it is extremely important to ensure the victory not of emotions and mutual recriminations but of a constructive approach and a readiness for compromise and political dialogue, to which there is no reasonable alternative. Choosing the path of confrontation can lead only to chaos and to a complete loss of control over the country's internal processes. Furthermore, such developments could be exploited by those forces that are not interested in establishing a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa.

The negotiation process ha already made great headway, and some positive results in the dismantling of apartheid have been achieved. For that very reason, every effort must be made to maintain the positive dynamism of the CODESA negotiating process with a view to establishing a new constitutional order.

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For its part, the international community, which has for decades pursued a steadfast policy aimed at eliminating apartheid, should also make every effort today, in such an extremely complex and crucial period, to promote the process of far-reaching reform in South Africa. We strongly endorse the results of the Security Council's consideration of the issue of South Africa in July 1992 and the decisions it adopted on that issue - decisions that will surely help to end the violence and to establish a situation favourable to the continuation of the negotiation process. A certain constructive role in the stabilization of the internal political situation in the country should be played by United Nations observers, as well as by observers from such regional organizations as the European Community, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Commonwealth.

Furthermore, as is rightly pointed out in the third progress report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid

> "The role of the international community in the establishment of a democratic, non-racial South Africa can, of course, only be complementary to those of the various political groups in the country. Their participation, goodwill and political courage are essential for success. Responsibility for achieving a just and long-lasting agreement through negotiation must rest with the South Africans themselves."
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> (A/47/574, para. 11)

Accordingly, the United Nations is entitled to expect all forces involved in the ongoing reform process in South Africa as part of CODESA to show historic responsibility for the fate of their country. There must be an immediate renewal of the work of the negotiation machinery to establish a new constitutional order that will ensure universal and equal suffrage for all

(Mr. Sidorov, Russian Federation)

without distinction as to race, the complete elimination of apartheid by political means and the establishment of a non-racial, democratic State.

The Russian Federation continues to advocate the early and definitive dismantling of apartheid, the full exercise of human rights and a peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa. Russia formulates its relations with South Africa in full compliance with binding Security Council resolutions.

The Russian Federation will help in the efforts undertaken to continue the negotiation process and will cooperate to that end with constructive forces in South Africa and with all countries and organizations.

Mr. KUKAN (Czechoslovakia): As in previous years, this year again we are facing the task of objectively evaluating the course of the process of democratization in South Africa, taking into account all the conditions prevailing in that country. Above all, however, we should contribute to that process in a peaceful and non-violent way.

Following the abrogation of the law forbidding the use of public amenities by some groups of the population, and after abjuring the state of emergency in part of the territory in October 1990 and eliminating the last pillars of apartheid - the Land Acts, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act - in June 1991, South Africa faces the last, but at the same time the most difficult, step towards the elimination once and for all of legalized racial discrimination, namely, the adoption of a new, democratic constitution.

The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic joined the international community in welcoming the first round of the historic general Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), which, with the broadest participation ever, tried to solve the issues of gradual, non-violent steps leading to the

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formulation of a new interim constitution, the neutral position of the mass media in that process, the preconditions for the establishment of an interim Government of national understanding, the form of the future democratic State and of the political and economic system and the reincorporation of the homeland States - Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei - into the structure of the new State, while preserving the rights of ethnic minorities and the time schedule of the entire process.

The White minority has by referendum indicated its support for current governmental policy. The decisive majority of the White population approved President de Klerk's policy of transformation and democratization, thus giving him the mandate to continue the negotiations with the Black majority and gradually to carry out further reforms. All of those steps have been perceived as encouraging signals by the international community as a whole. They represent an important milestone leading towards the irreversibility of the entire process.

The failure of the second round of the CODESA talks and, in particular, the increased senseless violence that led to such tragic occurrences as the Boipatong massacre have repeatedly confirmed that the transformation of South African society will be neither simple nor short. It has been confirmed again that it is in the interest of the people of South Africa not to undertake such mass actions as might lead to political destabilization and result in a violent and undemocratic change in the distribution of political power in the country. Support for a peaceful transition in South Africa to a democratic and non-racial society is in the interest of the entire world. There are too many armed conflicts burning and smouldering in all parts of the world, including the African continent, and if South Africa too is to be afflicted

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by the senseless flames of civil war, the ability of the international community to provide assistance in extinguishing them would be more than questionable.

Numerous examples demonstrate that adherence to dogmas, intransigence, non-respect for democratic principles, violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the threat, or even the use, of force for achieving political goals jeopardize the fate of nations and lead to endless human tragedies.

We consider the discussion of the South African issue in the Security Council and the mission to South Africa of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Cyrus Vance, to be a construction factor, which should contribute much to the resumption of the halted CODESA talks and should have a favourable impact on the overall calming down of the situation in the country and on preventing further intertribal clashes used as a means of political pressure.

We welcome both the resumption of the talks between the Government and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Record of Understanding of 26 September 1992, as well as the talks of the Government with other political groups of South Africa. We believe that they will result in a resumption of the CODESA talks as well.

The steps taken since the accession of President de Klerk to his post have had an essentially favourable response in the world. Some countries have revoked their economic sanctions against South Africa or have promoted their representations to the level of full-fledged diplomatic missions. A decision has been taken on the readmission of the national Olympic Committee of South Africa to the International Olympic Committee, and after a break of over two

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decades, South African athletes took part in the summer Olympic Games held at Barcelona.

(Mr. Kukan, Czechoslovakia)

As we have emphasized several times, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic fully identifies itself with the basic principles on the future set-up of South Africa as contained in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in South Africa.

Czechoslovakia seeks a balanced dialogue between representatives of the Government of South Africa and representatives of the African National Congress, and other forces of the South African political spectrum. Our attitude to the democratization process has been clearly reflected in the recent dynamic development of Czechoslovakia's and South Africa's mutual relations. The number of visits by representatives of both countries illustrates our interest in harmonizing the standpoints of all the parties involved. We highly value the results of the visits of President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela to the Czechoslovak Federal Republic, as well as those of the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, during which he held talks also with the Chairman of the Freedom Party, Mr. Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, and of the Czechoslovak Prime Minister to South Africa.

We believe that by now the international community should react with greater understanding to the positive movement in South African society which has been realized, in spite of all the complications of the past year.

We should also give our attention to the issue of engaging South Africa into the world economic system. We are of the opinion that the economic potential of this country should be used to benefit the whole population regardless of skin colour. In this respect we should bear in mind that the long-lasting economic sanctions of the international community, justified at the time of their adoption, have had a considerably harmful effect on the economy of this country and are now actually contributing to tension in the society.

(Mr. Kukan, Czechoslovakia)

Today's political system in South Africa is no longer that of the apartheid we knew in the past. The process of democratic changes carried out by President de Klerk can be considered as a sincere effort to ensure transition to a non-racial and democratic society.

We consider that the time has come for a solution, with the assistance of the developed industrial countries, to the economic difficulties in which the country finds itself, owing also to the sanctions imposed by the international community. This would, to a large extent, have a positive influence on redressing the complicated economic situation of the neighbouring countries in southern Africa.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the Permanent Representative of Trinidad and Tobago, who will speak on behalf of the States members of the Caribbean Community.

Mrs. des ILES (Trinidad and Tobago): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) which are Members of the United Nations: Antigua and Barbuda, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, the Commonwealth of Dominica, Grenada, the Republic of Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and my own country, Trinidad and Tobago.

The hope, anxiety and tension which are now distinctive features of the current international situation also appear to characterize the situation in South Africa today. The tremendous optimism of the past year - engendered by the release of several political prisoners, the abolition of many major apartheid laws and the commencement of negotiations among major parties and entities within South Africa for a just, democratic and non-racial society - has given way to feelings of frustration and despair, as the negotiation

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process for a post-apartheid South Africa remains stalled. In addition, violence continues to escalate, socio-economic disparities along racial lines are being further aggravated by the economic recession and the devastating drought, which has already claimed the lives and livelihood of many in southern Africa, has now engulfed parts of South Africa.

It has been widely acknowledged that the escalating violence, which continues to claim the lives of thousands of innocent people, is a major impediment to progress towards a peaceful transition to a democratic and non-racial South Africa. As reported by the Human Rights Commission of South Africa, an estimated 300 persons die each month in political violence. The toll in August 1992 alone was 348 persons. We in the Caribbean have been shocked and saddened by this tragic loss of life, made even more sinister by the repeated reports linking elements within the police and security forces to these criminal acts.

The States members of CARICOM have already registered their condemnation of the two massacres at Boipatong and Ciskei, which occurred in June and September of this year. The images of these tragedies will remain etched on the minds of many the world over who, through modern telecommunications, bore witness to these crimes. Equally disturbing are the reports that, during the period July 1990 to June 1992, 49 massacres and at least 128 political assassinations were committed.

In the current volatile situation in South Africa, it is imperative that all parties exercise the utmost restrain and demonstrate the requisite political responsibility and commitment to the future of their country and its peoples, by honouring the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accords. However, bearing in mind that the Accords have not, thus far served to stem

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the rising tide of violence in the country, the convening of an urgent meeting of its signatories and other interested parties should be encouraged for that purpose.

CARICOM States share the view that a climate conducive to peaceful negotiations and free political discussion and activity in South Africa can be engendered, not only by successfully addressing the problem of violence but also by ensuring the repeal of all repressive legislation. To date, the South African regime has yet to repeal some aspects of its repressive internal Security Act, as called for by the General Assembly in the 1989 consensus Declaration on apartheid. Provisions of other existing legislation, such as the Public Safety Act of 1953, still allow for the granting of expanded powers to the security forces. Under such circumstances, persons will most certainly continue to be detained arbitrarily and for political purposes. It is therefore not surprising that, as reported by the South African Human Rights Commission, more than 100 political trials are still in progress.

The gravity of this situation is further compounded by the realization that prisoners continue to perish while in police custody. As informed by this year's report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, during the first eight months of 1992, 86 prisoners died while in the custody of the police. Particularly startling is the revelation by a prominent South African pathologist that of the 200 deaths in police custody for which he had performed post-mortem examinations, 90 per cent of the prisoners had been killed by the police.

(Mrs. des Iles, Trinidad and Tobago)

No society truly committed to justice, equality and the rule of law can readily dismiss such allegations. To date, promised investigations by the South African regime have not materialized. We urge that a credible mechanism be established urgently to investigate and bring to justice the perpetrators of these crimes.

States members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) welcome the agreement of 26 September 1992 between the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African authorities concerning, inter alia, the release of political prisoners held in connection with offences alleged to have been committed on or before 8 October 1990. This undertaking on the part of the regime should be accompanied, however, by assurances that all political trials and executions, as well as all arbitrary arrests and detentions, will cease and that the repressive legislation which encourages such activities will be repealed.

We also applaud the reported substantial progress made on the return of South African exiles and their reintegration into their society and the crucial role played by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in this regard. It is regrettable, however, that, according to the current report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, many were discouraged from returning to their homeland by the conditions which earlier returnees had had to endure, such as police harassment, imprisonment, poor housing and job prospects, and the prevailing instability and violence. This unquestionably brings into sharp focus the need for an urgent coordinated and comprehensive response by the international community, and the United Nations in particular, to the grave situation in South Africa.

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It is most evident from the various reports before this body on the policies of apartheid of the South African regime that the profound and irreversible changes called for in the 1989 Declaration on apartheid are not yet under way in South Africa. Of vital importance to the success of this major collective undertaking is the need for all parties within South Africa to participate in good faith in a broad-based negotiation process to chart a new beginning for the future. CARICOM States are committed to a peaceful transition to a post-apartheid South Africa. We support the call by the Organization of African Unity's (OAU) Ad-Hoc Committee of Heads of State Government on Southern Africa for the liberation movements and other progressive bodies to join forces, within the context of a united front of the oppressed people. A common front on their part can only redound to the benefit of all and provide the best opportunity for ushering in the long-awaited period of transition to and establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

For its part, the United Nations should play an enhanced role in the process towards a peacefully negotiated transformation of South African society. This Organization's close involvement in developments in South Africa for more than 40 years is ample testimony to its commitment to the struggle against apartheid. We can ill afford the perpetuation of minority rule in that country. Too much is at stake. Too much suffering has been and continues to be endured. States members of CARICOM welcome the active engagement of the United Nations in the current process. However, given the acknowledgement that the 10 international monitors deployed by the United

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Nations in South Africa in August 1992 to observe the ANC-led mass-action campaign contributed positively to peaceful conduct by all sides, serious consideration should be given to increasing the size of the current United Nations Observer Mission, as well as expanding its mandate.

The 12 States members of the Caribbean Community are of the view that economic, financial and military sanctions against South Africa are important factors in the international campaign to pressure the minority regime in Pretoria to negotiate, in good faith, for a peaceful transition to a post-apartheid society. We urge all States to refrain from unilaterally lifting sanctions and other restrictive measures against South Africa, agreed in previous decisions of the General Assembly and Security Council, until profound and irreversible changes have been implemented in that country.

An important complement to such activities must be extending support, financial and otherwise, to the liberation movements and anti-apartheid organizations and bodies within and outside South Africa which are actively engaged in redressing the current economic, social and political disparities within the country. We in CARICOM renew our pledge to do all we can in support of the anti-apartheid struggle and we shall continue to work closely with others to bring about and to ensure the reign of freedom, equality and justice in South Africa.

Mr. AHAMED (India): I consider it a privilege to participate in the debate at this session of the General Assembly on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. I should also like to convey my appreciation to the Special Committee against Apartheid for its comprehensive and informative report for the year 1991 to 1992 and the valuable contribution it

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has made over the years to the struggle against the system of apartheid in South Africa. We also welcome the Secretary-General's third progress report (A/47/574) on the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

When the General Assembly considered this question last year, there was an atmosphere of optimism. The Secretary-General, in a message to the Special Committee against Apartheid, had expressed the view that

> "Overall, the progress towards the end of apartheid in South Africa, although halting, remains on course. Major apartheid legal structures have been repealed; several measures necessary for a climate for negotiations as well as peace initiatives have been undertaken and South Africa appears to be moving ahead towards the beginning of substantive negotiations". (A/AC.115/PV.652, p. 8)

My own delegation expressed the hope that the struggle of the people of South Africa would be carried to fruition with the installation of a democratic, non-racial government in South Africa.

This optimism was based on several positive developments during 1991. The South African Government had abolished the race qualification laws, the racially based Land Measures Act, the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts. These actions had partially addressed the aspirations of the South African people. I say "partially" because the measures did not fully eliminate the detested apartheid structures.

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Although they indicated an element of political maturity on the part of the South African Government, they did not fully institute the process which could lead towards the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa, as called for in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by consensus by the General Assembly on 14 December 1989, at its sixteenth special session. Such a process could take place only in a climate conducive to negotiations as called for in the Declaration, and addressing the problem of violence, which regularly haunts us, would inevitably be an essential step towards creating such a climate.

The process of negotiations began at the end of 1991 on a highly encouraging note when the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) held its first session, on 20 and 21 December. The results of that meeting generated considerable expectations among the people of South Africa and the international community. Five working groups were established to deal with several distinct aspects of the process towards the establishment of a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa. It was expected that the reports of these working groups at the second session of CODESA, on 15 and 16 May 1992, would finally launch a process under which the transitional arrangements could be established and elections held for a constituent assembly to frame a constitution for a democratic South Africa. It was regrettable that that session did not lead to the desired and even expected success.

It is tragic that while attempts were being made by all parties in South Africa to revitalize the process of negotiations, even in the face of substantive differences between the South African Government and the liberation movements, the phenomenon of political violence should have reared

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its ugly head again. The political violence in South Africa came back with renewed ferocity as if to challenge the hopes and aspirations of the South African population as well as the entire international community.

According to some reports, a total of 3,400 persons have been killed in political violence in South Africa during the period between the signing of the National Peace Accord on 14 September 1991 and August 1992. The Boipatong massacre on 17 June 1992 and then the Ciskei massacre on 7 September 1992 illustrated that the phenomenon of political violence in South Africa was much more deeply rooted than had earlier been thought by the international community.

The root cause of the violence can in fact be found in the system of apartheid itself, which divides the people and inflicts hatred and cruelty on the innocent and unsuspecting. In fact, apartheid breeds violence and can be sustained only through violence. The re-emergence of violence in South Africa has also clearly illustrated how fragile the process of negotiations in South Africa is. The Ciskei massacre conclusively pointed to the continuing intolerance in South Africa - and particularly in the so-called homelands - of free political activity, of which public demonstrations are the most effective tools. It is our firm belief that to put the process of negotiations in South Africa on a firm footing it is essential to deal first with the question of violence in an effective and expeditious manner.

While the phenomenon of violence - and particularly the Boipatong and Ciskei massacres - were a shocking development for the international community, they also helped to sharpen its focus on events in South Africa. They established the urgency with which the solution to the problem of violence would need to be found in South Africa. The Security Council held a

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two-day debate, on 15 and 16 July 1992, to hear from the liberation movements of South Africa, and more than 40 countries participated in it to voice their strong opposition to the phenomenon of violence in that country.

At the recommendation of the Security Council, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Cyrus Vance, accompanied by Mr. Virendra Dayal, visited South Africa to hold discussions with the protagonists in that country in order to recommend measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. One positive result of such consultations was that the United Nations sent its observers to be present in South Africa at the mass demonstrations organized by the African National Congress on 3 August 1992. It is a generally held view that the presence of these observers contributed considerably to minimizing the political violence during those demonstrations. We also welcome the decision of the Security Council to recommend to the Secretary-General, as a result of these consultations, that United Nations observers be stationed in South Africa as a matter of urgency.

As the Secretary-General noted in his report (S/24389) to the Security Council, the National Peace Accord established a comprehensive framework for ending violence and facilitating socio-economic development and reconstruction in South Africa. There is a need to strengthen these mechanisms so that their mandate in controlling the phenomenon of violence can be effectively discharged. In that regard, we agree with the observation of the Secretary-General that the United Nations observers could act in close association with the National Peace Secretariat in order to further the purposes of the Accord. We hope that this coordination between the United

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Nations observers and the National Peace Secretariat will be able to find durable solutions to the phenomenon of violence in South Africa.

Yet another welcome development during the year has been the Record of Understanding signed by the President of South Africa, Mr. F. W. de Klerk, and the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, on 26 September 1992. It is our belief that it will provide a concrete direction for the establishment of a democratic constituent assembly and for transitional arrangements until the establishment of a democratic government in South Africa and, most importantly, that it will lead to the release of all political prisoners in South Africa. The continuing incarceration of political prisoners in South African jails has proved to be a major irritant in the negotiation process, and we hope that a final solution to this problem and other agreements regarding a constitutional assembly and transitional arrangements included in the Record of Understanding will assist in strengthening and promoting the negotiation process.

Another debilitating consequence of apartheid is reflected in the socio-economic inequalities which currently exist in South Africa. Such inequalities, inasmuch as they are the result of apartheid structures, also hamper the process of smooth transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid has provided some revealing information on the extent of such inequalities.

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Every effort must be made in South Africa to address these inequalities urgently and to address the critical level of unemployment and the socio-economic deficiencies faced by black South Africans. The lack of housing, educational facilities and economic opportunities for black South Africans needs particular attention by the international community, with guidance from the liberation movements.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has rightly concluded in its report that the process of democratic transition in South Africa and the dismantling of apartheid rule needs continuing encouragement from the international community. We support the call made to the international community by the Special Committee to support the process in South Africa through a phased application of appropriate measures as warranted by ongoing developments. We have said in the past that the international community must continue to be vigilant until such time as all the people of South Africa are able to live together as fully equal citizens in a truly non-racial, democratic society within the framework of a constitution freely agreed upon by the people on a non-discriminatory basis.

India in 1946 was the first country to bring the problem of apartheid to the attention of the international community. We reiterate once again our consistent support for the struggle of the majority in South Africa for its legitimate rights. The people of South Africa have suffered for long enough the loss of their political rights because of the racist structures created by the system of apartheid. They have also begun to suffer a decline in their socio-economic conditions as a consequence of apartheid. We hope that 1993 will see wisdom prevail and that the final nail will be driven into the coffin of apartheid so that the people of South Africa will be able once again to

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enjoy their political freedom, determine their own destiny and join the expanding community of democratic nations.

Mr. CHEW (Singapore): South Africa is now at the crossroads. The process of political reform in South Africa has been under way for some time, beginning with the release of Mr. Mandela, which the whole world welcomed. This important initial step was followed over the course of 1992 by the establishment of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) talks, a major milestone on the long road to a peaceful negotiated settlement. The March 1992 referendum also saw the unprecedented vote by white South Africans to dismantle the apartheid system. But while these are positive changes, many difficulties lie ahead which could threaten the transition to a democratic, majority-rule, post-apartheid government. Whilst the various South African parties must now choose how to proceed next, the international community should now focus its attention on the transition to a post-apartheid South Africa and the challenge of peace-building towards a democratic, majority-rule South Africa.

Efforts by the international community have helped to initiate and maintain pressure for political change in South Africa. Singapore remains fully committed to the total elimination of apartheid and the peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial South Africa. To fulfil these objectives, Singapore stresses the need for the international community to remain actively engaged in the ongoing political reform process in South Africa. Comprehensive and lasting reform can come only by coordinated and concerted action and with support from the international community. We therefore welcome the Secretary-General's statement on 12 October on the

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occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners that

> "... the United Nations has not only condemned apartheid but is taking concrete, constructive steps to assist the process of peaceful transition in South Africa." (A/AC.115/PV.661, p .11)

In particular, Singapore welcomes the dispatch of the 44 United Nations observers to South Africa to be stationed in areas where the political violence is most severe. Their presence demonstrates the commitment and the political will of the United Nations to a peaceful transition to a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

In this context, we support the appeal by the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa that Mr. Justice Goldstone in his Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation be allowed urgently to investigate the parties responsible for instigating and committing acts of violence. We note that the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid mentions (A/47/22, para. 23) Mr. Justice Goldstone's criticisms of the Government's reluctance to take firm steps to prevent criminal conduct by members of the security forces. The Special Committee has also supported his recommendation for a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons. In general, we support the recommendations of the Special Committee contained in paragraph 181 of its report.

In order not to lose momentum in the reform process the international community has to maintain pressure on the South African Government. However, in our pursuit of lasting change in South Africa, it is necessary to bear in mind that the maintenance of pressure is a delicate process which has to be

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finely tuned and calibrated. Within this context there should be no unilateral and premature lifting of the mandatory arms embargo.

The struggle against apartheid does not end with the formal elimination of the institutions of apartheid. Even after apartheid's formal elimination its effects will continue to be felt. The Secretary-General has acknowledged that

> "... the atrocities of apartheid have left a bitter legacy of violence, economic repression, distrust and anguish". (A/AC.115/PV.661, p. 8)

The legacy is also one of continued inequality between the races and communities. There are imbalances in income, wealth, land and opportunities which can lead to social frictions and political instability. Mistrust and hatred, economic deprivation and injustices built up over many years can threaten the new democratic and non-racial South Africa when it comes into being. According to the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid,

> "Apartheid has not only bitterly divided a nation but has also resulted in glaring disparities in the socio-economic situation." (A/47/22, para. 180)

Thus, besides political changes in South Africa, economic and social reforms are also crucial.

On the economic front the decades of strife and United Nations sanctions have damaged the competitiveness of the economy. To overcome the effects of sanctions many ingenious but economically inefficient industries have been set up in South Africa. These industries, which have been highly protected, will hamper economic growth. South Africa will need to open its economy and develop internationally competitive industries.

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The massive unemployment and underemployment in the urban areas and among landless peasants, and the severe lack of trained manpower, also pose serious problems for the economy.

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Similarly, fundamental changes in social attitudes and norms will be required. A peaceful and stable post-apartheid South Africa cannot be achieved without social reform. Perhaps one of the most important changes involves the reintegration of the generation of black South Africans which has spent years in defiance of the system of apartheid. The Black South Africans have been deprived of the opportunity to obtain a proper education. In the words of our Senior Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, who addressed the Financial Mail conference in South Africa recently, there is

> "a lost generation of Africans with minimum or no schooling that grew up during the years of defiance of apartheid".

Their needs and aspirations will have to be addressed. Again in the words of Mr Lee Kuan Yew,

> "The Whites can make things easier if they genuinely accept the others as equals. But it is not easy to build a new, equal relationship when the levels of education of the two groups are so unequal and the cultures so dissimilar."

The new, post-apartheid government will have to provide both psychological and economic relief to the many who feel that they have been dispossessed for so long. But in providing this relief the new government must not cause serious damage to the competitiveness of the economy. Political victory and the elimination of apartheid will be followed by the challenge of establishing a normal, stable daily life and social system that meet economic and psychological needs of the races of South Africa. Individuals who have spent their years in agitation and fighting for their freedoms will have to find their place in society. A new, just and democratic society will have to be established.

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We have mentioned some of the great and complex challenges facing a post-apartheid South Africa. These challenges are likely to overwhelm the new post-apartheid government unless it receives significant assistance from the international community. We shall have to walk the last mile in peace-building in a post-apartheid South Africa. In this context, we welcome the statement by the Secretary-General that

> "the United Nations stands ready to provide a concerted, system-wide response to address the economic and social disparities resulting from the long practice of institutionalized racism." (A/47/574, para. 10)

Singapore, for its part, will help in areas such as technical assistance and technical training. We understand that the total elimination of the system and institutions of apartheid should be followed by the establishment of new economic and social institutions. Fully aware of this need to build a new South Africa, Singapore, with its limited resources, will help in the training of key personnel at the request of the African National Congress. Such technical and training assistance can help to upgrade and rebuild the economy and lay the foundations of a new, post-apartheid nation.

Whilst only the South African parties themselves can negotiate and agree on a satisfactory constitutional settlement - which is the key to future political stability - the international community has a moral duty to assist in building the peace in post-apartheid South Africa. Democracy alone will not feed the hungry or satisfy the dispossessed. A new, multiracial nation has to be built on firm political, economic and social foundations. Laying these foundations will take much effort and sacrifice on the part of all the

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peoples of South Africa, as well as the international community. International assistance can help South Africa to choose the right path as it stands at the crossroads.

Mr. KHARRAZI (Islamic Republic of Iran): The apartheid policies of the South African regime have constantly been on the agenda of the General Assembly and - especially after the establishment of the Special Committee against Apartheid in 1962 - many resolutions reflecting total condemnation of the abhorrent system of apartheid have been adopted since its institutionalization in South Africa.

The adoption of the consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly - the Declaration contained in the annex to resolution S-16/1 of 14 December 1989 - is the most vivid proof of the international resolve to eradicate apartheid. The Declaration calls for the creation of an appropriate climate for negotiations aimed at establishing a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa based on a new constitution.

According to the Declaration,

> "permanent peace and stability in Southern Africa can only be achieved when the system of apartheid in South Africa has been eradicated and South Africa has been transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country".(resolution S-16/1, annex, p. 2)

Therefore, in the view of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the international community should not relax the existing measures against the apartheid regime before achieving this goal.

In the past three years some positive developments - such as the release of some political prisoners, including Mr. Nelson Mandela, the lifting of the

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state of emergency and the repeal of certain discriminatory legislation, the return of a number of political exiles and, finally, the beginning of negotiations within the framework of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) - have taken place. However, despite these developments, the apartheid system remains in place as a sore on the conscience of humanity.

Referring to political prisoners, the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid says:

> "the release of such prisoners has virtually ceased since the beginning of 1992. The Human Rights Commission in September still listed some 395 political prisoners. More than a year after the deadline agreed in the Pretoria Minute for the release of all political prisoners, therefore, the issue had not been entirely resolved."(A/47/22, para. 38)

On the question of exiles, this paragraph says:

> "the number of exiles willing to return was lower than expected, due in part to the fact that some returnees were subjected to police harassment or even imprisonment, but mostly to poor housing and job prospects as well as the instability and violence prevailing in the country's townships".(ibid.)

The violence is now aimed at destabilizing democratic forces and communities in general. The deprived people of South Africa continue to suffer from the racist system. Many persons have been killed or injured as a result of ruthless and systematic actions of the South African security forces.

The reign of violence has been systematically on the rise since January 1992. More than 7,000 people are said to have been killed since

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February 1990. The victims fall into different categories. According to the annex to document S/24232, violence in South Africa targeting Black communities has escalated alarmingly. Examples of such violence include the massacre in Boipatong township on 17 June 1992 and the massacre at Ciskei on 7 September 1992. The recent situation raises grave concern about the control that the current regime exerts over the security forces.

In this context, many reports indicate the involvement of elements of the security forces and the extreme right in fostering this persistent violence. Despite the fact that the authorities of the South African regime bear full responsibility for the prevailing violence, their response has been totally inadequate - to say the least - and has seriously jeopardized the process of peaceful negotiations.

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The Islamic Republic of Iran welcomed the decision of the Organization of African Unity Summit to bring the matter before the Security Council. We also welcomed the decisions of the Council and commend the Secretary-General for dispatching observers to South Africa aimed at bringing the violence to an immediate end. At this very sensitive juncture, the international community should immediately take all necessary measures, first, to put a complete stop to the violence and, secondly, to design a mechanism for monitoring the situation in South Africa in order to allow for constructive negotiations to resume and pave the way for the total eradication of the apartheid system.

In this regard, the international community should ensure that negotiations are based on a truly democratic framework accepted by all the parties involved. The minority Government in South Africa should be encouraged to accept this democratic framework for resumed negotiations and forgo its efforts to guarantee its superiority over the majority black population by insisting on veto power.

It is clear that the international community cannot be content with the scope of recent developments in South Africa. The full eradication of the apartheid system and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa are necessary. To achieve these goals, maintaining sanctions, in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, against the present regime should diligently continue as the major element of the international community's stance on South Africa.

The Islamic Republic of Iran has consistently supported the General Assembly resolutions against the racist policies of South Africa. My

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delegation, in close cooperation with the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa, has striven to strengthen the implementation of the ban on the sale and shipment of oil and other petroleum products to South Africa. In this regard, the Islamic Republic of Iran has made it compulsory for the purchasers of its oil to present authenticated discharge certificates.

In connection with the issue of military and nuclear activities, military relations between South Africa and the Zionist regime have continued, contrary to the resolutions of the General Assembly adopted against the policy of apartheid and its military activities, the latest of which is resolution A/46/79 D. According to the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid:

> "The ongoing collaboration between Israel and South Africa, especially in the military and nuclear fields, is a matter of great concern to the international community. South Africa is one of Israel's major arms customers. This collaboration is in violation of Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 421 (1977), of 4 November and 9 December 1977, respectively, concerning the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa." (A/47/22, para. 204)

In our view, the continuation of this collaboration presents a serious obstacle to the full elimination of the abhorrent system of apartheid. The international community, therefore, should take effective action to end all violations of the arms embargo against South Africa.

The Islamic Republic of Iran has been carefully monitoring the developments in South Africa. In our continued efforts to contribute to the

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elimination of the inhuman policies of apartheid, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has consistently helped mobilize and support international efforts against the racist policies of apartheid. Mr. Mandela's visit to Tehran in July 1992 was aimed at promoting these efforts. My country has also consistently cooperated with various international bodies in order to strengthen the implementation of sanctions against South Africa.

In conclusion, the Islamic Republic of Iran is of the view that there currently exists a unique opportunity for the United Nations and its related bodies to take effective steps aimed at dismantling the abhorrent apartheid system. To achieve this objective, it is necessary to draft a new constitution with the participation of all patriotic representative groups in South Africa on the basis of an agreed democratic framework, in order to establish a democratic, non-racial and united country. Today more than ever before, the world is ready for the full elimination of apartheid and racism, and the international community should do everything possible to alleviate the suffering of the oppressed people of South Africa.

Mr. ELHOUDERI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): The South African regime's policy of apartheid has been one of the main items on the agenda of all previous sessions of the General Assembly. Over the past 40 years, the international community has continued to intensify its call for the elimination of apartheid. Today, the General Assembly can pride itself on the fact that this call has gained wide support with the result that the aspirations for a democratic, non-racist South Africa have become within reach. This has been brought about by the great sacrifices of the South African people and the concerted efforts of the international

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community, which took many forms, including the General Assembly declaration that was adopted by consensus. In that declaration, the international community once again reaffirmed the need to create the appropriate climate that could lead to the attainment of the goal of the people of South Africa, namely, the establishment of a society in which all the populace could enjoy equality regardless of colour, race or creed.

Since the adoption of the General Assembly Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, the region has witnessed successive developments towards the dismantling of apartheid. The state of emergency has been lifted; the racist laws, the legal underpinnings of the regime, have been repealed; and the way has been paved for the voluntary return of many deportees and exiles. Also measures have been taken which led to the release of many political prisoners. The regime and the political parties have engaged in negotiations on the future of South Africa.

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These developments had opened new vistas and raised high hopes that the establishment of a unified, democratic, non-racist South Africa was at hand. However, more than two years after most of those developments, the fact remains that the structures of apartheid have not yet been fully dismantled. Many apartheid-related practices and patterns of behavior are still in place in South Africa.

Injustices and inequalities are still widespread. Recently, the eruption and grave escalation of acts of violence not only created factors that led to obstructing the political process and interrupting the dialogue that had started between parties, but also generated dangerous currents which threaten to wipe out the results of all the efforts made so far towards ending the policy of apartheid through negotiation. It is cause for concern to note the strong evidence which points at the existence of clandestine well-organized forces that fan the fires of sedition, encourage ethnic hotbeds and thereby foster bloody confrontations and grievous assaults on the innocent. How else could the attacks against patriotic leaders be explained? And what makes the security forces so hesitant in preventing attacks against the civilians who support democratic movements in South Africa?

The massacre in the Boipatong Township last June, in which a large number of innocent people were killed, was the most telling proof of the gravity of the acts of violence we refer to. This barbaric act caused world-wide indignation and grave concern among all world public opinion circles and organizations. In its resolution 1368 adopted by the summit of African Heads of State or Government, the OAU voiced its condemnation of this escalation of violence in South Africa especially in the case of the massacre at Boipatong.

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The resolution called for a full public inquiry into the Boipatong incident and the other acts of violence in South Africa. It also called for an urgent meeting of the Security Council in order to consider the issue of violence in that country and to take the necessary measures to put an end to such acts.

Libya has supported the OAU resolution. In this debate, my country's delegation would like to express its satisfaction at the prompt, positive response of the Security Council and to voice our support of the positions adopted by the Council which, in its resolution 765 (1992), called on the South African authorities to take immediate measures to effectively put a halt to acts of violence and to put on trial those responsible for such acts. In addition, my delegation would like to express its satisfaction at the measures approved by the Security Council in its resolution 772 (1992). By the same token, we welcome the steps taken by the Secretary-General to implement that resolution, especially the deployment of United Nations observers in South Africa, the mission of his special representative to the region for contacts with the parties concerned, and the recommendations on measures that may help to effectively end the acts of violence.

United Nations resolutions on the policy of apartheid aim at the total elimination of that policy. Though the international community has expressed satisfaction with this tendency, the family of nations has also affirmed that it will not accept anything less than the total eradication of racist practices. If we are to do that, it is very important, at this stage, to maintain international solidarity and to keep in place the measures that ensure that the South African regime will be made to shoulder its responsibilities in putting an end to the acts of violence which have so far

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resulted in thousands of deaths. The regime should also release the remaining political prisoners, facilitate the return of the remaining exiles, and create a climate conducive to the real abolition of the policy of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic, unified, non-racial South Africa. Furthermore, it is important to enhance international solidarity for the effective implementation of the measures taken so far. To declare the amendment or repeal of racist laws is not sufficient. More important is the translation of such abrogation into actual fact in a manner that would guarantee the fundamental rights of the majority of the populace by enabling them to participate in the economic life of the country and to enjoy equally every citizen's rights to employment, housing, education and health care. Only this would secure the return of calm and trust and the resumption of dialogue and negotiation on arrangements for transition to a democratic, non-racist rule.

Equally important is the need for the international community to implement the resolutions concerning military collaboration with the South African regime and the mandatory embargo on arms to that regime, and to put an end to the continuing flouting of those resolutions. The Special Committee against Apartheid highlighted this by stating that:

> "The ongoing collaboration between Israel and South Africa, especially in the military and nuclear fields, is a matter of great concern to the international community. South Africa is one of Israel's major arms customers. This collaboration is in violation of Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 421 (1977), of 4 November and 9 December, respectively, concerning the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa." (A/47/22, para. 204)

(Mr. El-Houderi, Libyan Arab Jamahariya)

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahariya has always been on the side of the people of South Africa in this, their legitimate struggle for the elimination of the apartheid system, which defies the United Nations Charter and the norms of law and international legality. My country's delegation would like to seize this opportunity to confirm once again that Libya will always stand by the majority of South Africa's people in their struggle for the attainment of their legitimate rights. We have supported all the General Assembly resolutions on apartheid. We have implemented and will continue to implement the provisions of those resolutions until the final eradication of the apartheid system, which marginalizes a whole people and frustrates their aspirations after equality and justice.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to pay tribute to the Special Committee against Apartheid for its good work and the valuable reports submitted to the General Assembly under agenda item 33, on the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): I deem it an honour to address this plenary meeting of the General Assembly on agenda 33 concerning the policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa. The situation in South Africa has changed considerably since we discussed the matter at the last session of the General Assembly, and important progress has been made towards the abolition of apartheid. Constitutional negotiations were launched in the context of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), opening the way for the establishment of a democratic and non-racial society in South Africa. Among the positive measures which the South African authorities have

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

taken are the repeal of key apartheid laws and the revision of major security legislation. However, the process has by no means been smooth or always encouraging. The CODESA process had to be suspended and sporadic violence, such as occurred at Boipatong this past June, continues to erupt.

The situation remains precarious and the people of South Africa have reached an important crossroad. It would be a tragedy if violence, mistrust and other negative factors were permitted to overwhelm their aspirations for a non-racial and democratic society. The momentum towards a full participatory democracy must not be lost.

Japan condemns the recurring violence in South Africa. Deeply concerned that volatility could jeopardize the process of peaceful transformation, Japan calls upon all parties to cooperate in combating violence. While Japan fully supports the right of South Africans to express their views through peaceful public demonstrations, it urges all parties to exercise utmost restraint to ensure that the achievement of their common goal is not unduly delayed. Japan was encouraged by the meeting on 26 September between President de Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela and by the Record of Understanding which they subsequently issued. This agreement, together with the release of political prisoners, removed many obstacles to the resumption of negotiations. It is also encouraging that various talks have been conducted between the South African Government and representatives of various political organizations. My delegation would, however, stress with some urgency that all parties should avoid falling into a cycle of self-defeating mutual recrimination and cooperate, so as to resume as soon as possible broad-based negotiations.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

The Security Council, of which Japan is a member, continues to follow closely the situation in South Africa and encourages the South African people to put an end to the violence and resume negotiations. Japan supported Security Council resolutions 765 (1992) of 16 July 1992 and 772 (1992) of 17 August 1992, and appreciates the Secretary-General's report of 7 August 1992 (S/24389), which contains various useful recommendations whose implementation requires the cooperation of all parties. The Security Council also took measures to help strengthen the structures set up under the National Peace Accord, including the deployment of United Nations observers in South Africa.

In addition to its participation on the Security Council, Japan has been making efforts on its own to support the South African people as they strive peacefully to attain their ultimate goal. It has taken every opportunity to encourage the parties concerned to address the problem of violence immediately and to resume broad-based negotiations. We will continue such efforts.

Over the years Japan has also extended, on a bilateral as well as multilateral basis, assistance to the victims of apartheid and to the efforts of the South African people to address their serious socio-economic problems, particularly in the areas of education, employment, and health. In fiscal year 1992, Japan allocated a total of $4.4 million for such purposes. In closing, I wish to emphasize that it is the sincere hope of the Government of Japan and its people that a non-racial and democratic society will be established in South Africa. Japan will continue vigorously to support South Africa's peaceful struggle to achieve this goal.

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania): When we met at this time last year to debate the item on apartheid, our eyes were focused on the positive changes that had taken place in South Africa and the prospects for further changes, including, in particular, the promise held out by the negotiation process of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). A number of serious obstacles remained to be overcome, but the mood was one of cautious optimism, and for good reason: some of the legislative pillars of apartheid had been repealed, while others had been amended. Several political prisoners had been released and a programme for the repatriation of exiles and refugees was under way.

Those developments, together with measures taken before them, such as the unbanning of political parties and organizations and the removal of troops from the townships, made it possible for the General Assembly to feel confident enough to relax some of the pressures brought to bear on the regime - specifically, the isolation of Pretoria in the academic, cultural and sporting fields. As foreseen in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, the purpose of the relaxation was to encourage further changes towards the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

It is now clear that it was too early to celebrate. After a promising start, the CODESA negotiation process collapsed in May 1992. No longer feeling the pressure of world public opinion and, no doubt, encouraged by the unilateral easing of the other pressures by its friends, Pretoria saw no need to negotiate in good faith. It felt emboldened to make unacceptable demands in the negotiations. For example, it sought what amounted to a veto for the white minority in the Constituent Assembly. In order to perpetuate minority rule, it also sought the establishment of an interim Government of an

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indefinite duration. It is not surprising, therefore, that the negotiations collapsed. The resulting frustrations, together with the escalating violence and the complicity of the regime in it, combined to put an effective end to the negotiation process. The decision of the African National Congress not to return to the negotiating table while the regime remained intransigent, both on the issues in the negotiations and in exercising its responsibility for ending the violence, was perfectly understandable.

The most serious problem facing South Africa at present is the endemic and escalating violence, in which, according to most accounts, nearly 8,000 people have lost their lives during the last two years alone. According to the South African Human Rights Commission, a non-governmental organization, the two years before the Boipatong massacre saw 49 massacres, involving more than 10 deaths each. These went virtually unnoticed by the world community. In the same period, according to the Commission, an average of nine deaths occurred every day. Other sources estimate the daily toll to be 15. These, too, were greeted with silence or indifference by the international community.

Even President F. W. de Klerk conceded in September that meaningful negotiations are impossible to pursue while violence continues at present levels. This tragic situation must be brought to an immediate end. It is a matter of great satisfaction that after a long period of neglect the international community has now assumed its responsibility for helping to put an end to it. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) deserves to be congratulated on taking the initiative of bringing the issue to the United Nations, as does the Security Council for responding positively to it. It is now the responsibility of all concerned to play their part in the

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implementation of the provisions of Security Council resolution 772 (1992). The international community now has an opportunity to make up for past neglect by doing first things first.

The single most important contribution that the international community can make to the efforts to end the violence is to ensure the deployment of external monitors in adequate numbers in the areas concerned, as called for in Security Council resolution 772 (1992). This, we all agree, will contribute not only to bringing an end to the violence, but also to restoring mutual trust and confidence, without which the peace process cannot resume.

The regime has a particular responsibility in this regard. The world over, responsibility for ensuring the safety and security of citizens and their property lies with the Government of the country concerned. For too long the Pretoria authorities have been allowed to shift the responsibility onto others. What they must do in this regard has been spelt out in great detail in the recommendations of the Goldstone Commission, in the submissions made to the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa, in the report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council and in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid. They range from the banning of the carrying of dangerous weapons to the fencing-in of migrant hostels, from the reining-in of the security forces to the disbandment of clandestine and paramilitary forces, such as the Koevoet, Battalion 32 and similar killer squads.

Moreover, Pretoria must put an end to the complicity in the violence of elements of its security forces, and vigorously investigate and prosecute those responsible for such criminal conduct. Unfortunately, this seems to be a forlorn hope. The regime's decision to reconvene Parliament in order to

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pursue, among other things, the enactment of legislation aimed at granting an amnesty to members of the security forces that are guilty of serious crimes and gross human rights violations, strongly suggests that, as always, the regime intends to ignore everybody - the Goldstone Commission, the majority of people of South Africa, the Security Council and, indeed, world public opinion.

The euphoria with which the world greeted the positive changes in South Africa over the last two years or so has tended to obscure the regime's failure to meet all the conditions set out in the Declaration for creating a climate conducive to negotiations. There is now very little external pressure for the repeal of the security legislation, still on the statute book, which restricts free and peaceful political activity.

The fact that the two most notorious legislative pillars of apartheid - the Internal Security Act and the Population Registration Act - were amended, and not repealed, as called for in the Declaration, has been conveniently set aside, not only by the regime, but also by its supporters inside and outside South Africa. Yet these laws remain a powerful instrument in the hands of the regime and of the leadership in the bantustans and the so-called self-governing States for the curbing of free and peaceful political activity and for restricting people's liberty and freedom. The recent revelation by the Pan Africanist Congress that on 21 October several of its members were detained under the Internal Security Act is a painful reminder that this draconian piece of legislation remains a potent weapon in the service of apartheid. Similarly, the powers that the regime has assumed to declare "unrest areas" have virtually negated the lifting of the state of emergency in the areas concerned.

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Another condition set out in the Declaration that remains unfulfilled is the unconditional release of all political prisoners. Last year the world was told that all political prisoners had been released. Indeed, this claim was repeated as recently as July this year during the Security Council debate on violence in the country. Regrettably, some of Pretoria's friends have accepted the regime's claim without any hesitation. Those of us who have learned from experience to take Pretoria's word with a pinch of salt were not surprised when it recently concluded an agreement with the African National Congress for the release of 150 political prisoners and undertook to release more by 15 November. The fact that the exact number of prisoners who are still incarcerated for their opposition against apartheid has not been revealed by the regime is not without significance. Are they only very few, as the regime would have the world believe, or are they over 500, as some reports strongly assert? The international community has the responsibility to ensure that the regime honours its undertaking. Equally, it has the responsibility to exert pressure on the regime to ensure that all remaining political prisoners, including those condemned to death, are released unconditionally.

Encouraging changes have taken place in South Africa over the last two years. These changes were not brought about by accident. They were the result of years of sustained struggle by the victims of apartheid - resulting in many of them paying the supreme sacrifice - and the sustained support of the international community, in the form of economic sanctions and other pressures on the white minority Government. Those responsible for the recent changes, President F. W. de Klerk and his colleagues deserve our support and encouragement for the courage and determination they have demonstrated through

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the reforms they have undertaken. That was the purpose of the relaxation allowed by General Assembly resolution 46/79 A permitting the resumption of carefully defined sporting, academic, scientific and cultural links. We can also allow ourselves a certain amount of optimism. But we would be making a grave mistake if we allowed ourselves to engage in celebrations and jubilation over the demise of apartheid. We have a long way to go. What we see now is no more than a tiny light at the end of a long tunnel. It cannot be sufficiently stressed that the point foreseen in the Declaration at which pressure on Pretoria can be eased has not yet been reached. Until the majority of South Africans have a say in the running of their affairs - in other words, until the majority of South Africans have taken their destiny into their own hands - profound and irreversible changes cannot be said to have taken place. As long as power remains in the hands of the minority regime, the danger of a roll-back cannot be ruled out. That danger will pass when there is in place in South Africa a transitional or interim government and a new constitution drawn up by a democratically elected constituent assembly. Until that point has been reached, pressure will remain an indispensable part of the world community's collective strategy for the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Mr. TARI (Israel): The delegation of Israel joins in this debate to express its fervent hope that the process of reform in South Africa will continue to move forward and accelerate. Many positive steps have been taken by the parties concerned, and we welcome the Joint Statement and Record of Understanding agreed to on 26 September 1992 by the Government of South Africa and the African National Congress.

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

Dialogue and mutual understanding are essential, and it is encouraging to note that there exists a common will among the parties to achieve progress. Though great strides have thus far been made in the struggle against apartheid, the road ahead is long, with many potential obstacles. We urge all parties to seize the moment and to work together to bring an end to the suffering of all the people of South Africa. The parties should intensify their efforts towards achieving a peaceful transformation in South Africa which will culminate in tolerance and equality for all sectors of the population.

The Government and the people of Israel categorically and unconditionally reject apartheid. It is entirely unacceptable as an ideology or as a political, social or economic system, and it must be abolished. The very idea of distinguishing among people because of their race is abhorrent to us. Israel's condemnation of apartheid is rooted in our culture, our tradition, our beliefs and our history. The Jewish people, more than any other, has experienced the horrible outcome of systematic racial discrimination and State-endorsed racism. Our historical memory is replete with the anguish of persecution and oppression, thus strengthening our deep opposition to the policies of apartheid. It is from the depths of our national experience and soul that we fundamentally decry and condemn apartheid.

The essence of Zionism, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, emerged from a national rebellion against racism and discrimination. Zionism embodied the striving of the Jewish people for freedom, equality and self-emancipation. Zionism is colour-blind, and it has served as the model for many liberation movements around the world. Champions of black African

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freedom wished to emulate Zionism as a model for the liberation of their own people from the yoke of racism. Zionism's commitment to human dignity is as old as Zionism itself.

(Mr. Tari, Israel)

Indeed, the State of Israel, the embodiment of the Zionist dream, is open, democratic and pluralistic. The over one hundred ethnic groups from the four corners of the earth currently residing in Israel in harmony are eloquent testimony to this fact. In recent years, Israel has been blessed, inter alia, with an influx of tens of thousands of black Jews, who were brought to our shores and absorbed in a spirit of love and brotherhood.

Very strong affinities exist between the State of Israel and the African nations - affinities based upon mutual respect and enhanced by a common struggle for justice and equality. Fraternal bonds of cooperation have developed between Israel and many African States and, to our great satisfaction, these bonds continue to expand and deepen. Thousands of African experts have participated in Israel in programmes of technical cooperation in fields such as agriculture, irrigation, health administration and education; and it has been a privilege for many Israeli experts to contribute in Africa to creative technical and scientific endeavours.

In addition, and specifically, the Government of Israel, through a special fund, is extending assistance to the representatives and members of the South African black communities. Training programmes in Israel, focusing especially on comparative development, have been organized for their benefit. A course on the role of people's organizations in national community development was concluded some time ago. It was extended specifically to students from the South African black communities. Since 1986, nearly 500 South African black leaders have participated in programmes in Israel in areas such as technical cooperation, health, education, social development and agriculture. These programmes have been arranged through Israel's African-Asian Institute and through the Division of International Cooperation

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of Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Israel is one of the countries in the world which is implementing, out of solidarity, such constructive courses and training. We call upon other nations to act in the same spirit and manner.

This meeting of the General Assembly is devoted to discussing the campaign against apartheid. Yet, this crucial objective continues to be abused by some countries who have chosen to manipulate the apartheid issue and use it as a propaganda tool against Israel. These countries choose to ignore the vast changes which have unfolded in the world, including the direct, face-to-face negotiations taking place between Israel and its Arab neighbours, and instead continue to use the same tired rhetoric for making baseless allegations about Israel. But more and more African nations and their leaders refuse to give heed to outdated and irrelevant resolutions regarding Israel and South Africa. Relations between Israel and African States continue to blossom, despite the attempts by some countries to drive a wedge between us. We trust that the new atmosphere will be reflected in the coming debate and vote, and we call upon this body to desist from passing anachronistic and pointless resolutions regarding Israel and South Africa should they come before this Assembly.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate our hope that the Government of South Africa will continue with its programme of reforms and liberalization, and that the parties will reach a lasting and peaceful solution so that all may live together in justice, harmony and freedom.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): Allow me to begin by expressing my delegation's appreciation to our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his third progress report on the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

Africa (A/47/574). The report is well researched and well documented and provides both perspective and context to this debate.

In the same vein, allow me to commend the Chairman, Professor Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, the officers and members of the Special Committee against Apartheid for their report (A/47/22), which is truly a mine of valuable information on the policies of apartheid and the Government of South Africa. The report makes observations and recommendations that are both thoughtful and pertinent. The Director and staff of the Centre against Apartheid deserve no less commendation for their excellent work.

On 21 August 1989, the Harare Declaration on the question of South Africa was adopted at the summit meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organization of African Unity on Southern Africa. The Declaration was subsequently endorsed by the Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at their Ninth Summit Conference held at Belgrade in September 1989. It was this document which after lengthy and intense negotiations emerged on 14 December 1989 as the consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session. Any discussion on the dismantling and eradication of apartheid which fails to establish this historic Declaration as the point of reference would turn out to be blurred and out of focus.

Indeed, the 1989 consensus Declaration has since become the veritable road map to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It is the yardstick against which progress, or lack of it, towards the eradication and elimination of apartheid can and must be measured. Any other criteria would be totally extraneous to the full and total commitment undertaken by the international community when it adopted, by consensus, the 1989 Declaration.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

It will be recalled that the consensus Declaration stated that should a conjuncture of circumstances exist in which there was a demonstrable readiness on the part of the regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, the international community would encourage the people of South Africa, as part of their legitimate struggle, to join together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that were necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy.

However, before the negotiating process could begin it was essential that the necessary climate be created. Once the necessary climate had been created, the negotiating process could then commence, focusing on the machinery for drawing up a new constitution, the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order and the necessary arrangements and modalities for the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections.

The consensus Declaration further emphasized the view that the parties concerned should negotiate the future of their country and its people in good faith and in an atmosphere which would be free of violence.

It is against that backdrop that the reaction of the international community to the convening in December 1991 of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), which ranged from euphoria to cautious optimism, should be understood. The international community saw that development as a possible important step towards the implementation of the provisions of the 1989 consensus Declaration. However, the initial euphoria turned out to have been premature.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

By May 1992 the negotiating process had become deadlocked. The insistence by the white minority on mechanisms that amounted to a white veto made it impossible for agreement to be reached on the necessary arrangements and mechanisms for drawing up and adopting a new constitution. It therefore became abundantly clear that unless the white minority was ready and willing to accept without prevarication the elementary principles of democracy, as they are universally understood, the negotiating process would become a futile exercise.

The futility of the negotiating process was further underscored by the unwillingness of the authorities in Pretoria to create a negotiating atmosphere free from violence, as called for in the 1989 consensus Declaration. In spite of the signing of the National Peace Accord and the commencement of the negotiating process soon afterwards, violence in South Africa has not merely continued unabated, but has continued to escalate. According to the South African Human Rights Commission, over 300 people die each month in political violence. In the month of August 1992 some 348 people died in political violence. Over 3,400 people have been killed in the 12 months since the signing of the National Peace Accord and the commencement of the negotiating process, compared with 2,639 killed in the preceding 12 months. I need not remind members that the names of Boipatong and Bisho have now become international household words for the callous, blood-chilling massacres that have come to signify the genocidal brutality of apartheid.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

What is so chilling about those massacres is the growing evidence that members of the South African security forces are heavily implicated in them. Various reports have been produced, including the report by Amnesty International entitled "South Africa: State of Fear" and that by the International Commission of Jurists entitled "Agenda for Peace", both of which were extremely critical of the South African Government's unwillingness to stop the violence, stressing the role played by the security forces in the promotion and perpetration of violence.

Because of this collusion and connivance by the South African police, the perpetrators of these heinous crimes are rarely apprehended. In the few cases where arrests have been made, convictions have not occurred owing to the total absence of a vigorous prosecution case by the police. Within South Africa itself, the Commission of Inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation, chaired by Mr. Justice Goldstone, issued its interim report in April 1992. It strongly criticized the Government's unwillingness to take firm steps to prevent criminal conduct by members of the security forces and to punish the perpetrators. Repeated calls, both locally and internationally, for the Government to ban the carrying of all dangerous weapons and to secure hostels whose inmates have been heavily implicated in the perpetration of acts of violence have gone unheeded.

One cannot help but reach the conclusion - indeed, it is inescapable - that the carnage that today represents the most serious threat to the prospect of a negotiated transition to a democratic South Africa is part of a grand strategy orchestrated by the white minority regime to destabilize and weaken

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

the liberation movements. It is therefore not without significance that statistics published by the South African Human Rights Commission indicate that, although the victims of the violence have been ordinary residents of black townships, political affiliation could be identified for up to half of those killed. Of those victims whose political affiliation could be established, some 84 per cent belonged to the African National Congress (ANC). It is also significant that prominent political activists have increasingly become the targets of assassination by hit squads. So far this year some 86 such leading political activists have been murdered. Clearly, this state of affairs cannot and must not be allowed to continue.

In this respect, the intervention by the international community through the Security Council's unanimous adoption of its resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992) was an important and significant development.

The establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa in September 1992 signified recognition and acceptance by all the parties involved that direct involvement of the international community was necessary to facilitate the transition to a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. While it is true that the leadership of the liberation movements and the Heads of State or Government of the Organization of African Unity called for direct international involvement in the context of the need to arrest the escalating violence, it is equally true that that violence is but a symptom of the underlying malady in the social and political fabric of South African society. That malady is apartheid itself.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

It therefore follows that if the question of violence in South Africa is to be adequately addressed the role of the United Nations observer mission must be broader than simply monitoring the incidence of violence in that country. Its role must include efforts to eradicate political violence from the South African landscape. Nothing short of the total eradication of apartheid itself will achieve that objective. This therefore means that the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa must also play the role of catalyst and mediator in the ongoing process of transforming South Africa into a non-racial democracy.

My delegation commends the Secretary-General for the urgent and expeditious manner in which he has deployed United Nations observers throughout South Africa. Their presence has certainly had a salutary effect on the incidence of violence in that country. That is to be welcomed. My delegation, however, would like to see the observer mission play a greater role in assisting the parties involved in overcoming mutual suspicion and distrust so that a broad-based negotiating process can get under way.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

My delegation is familiar with the focused and determined manner in which our Secretary-General has dealt with conflict situations around the globe - in the former Yugoslavia, Angola, Somalia, Western Sahara, Cambodia, Mozambique, Afghanistan and elsewhere. In each of these conflict situations, the Secretary-General has assigned eminent persons to attend to these conflicts on a full-time basis as his Special Representatives. Indeed, a similar treatment of the South African conflict would go a long way towards playing this essential catalytic and mediatory role of the United Nations.

There can be no doubt that it is the people of South Africa, working together, who will solve the crisis of apartheid. My delegation is more than convinced that they will rise to the requirements of the task. However, timely assistance from the international community could make the process a little less protracted and a little less painful. The oppressed majority has never needed support from the international community more than it does now. Whatever changes or movement in the right direction have occurred in the recent past, the reality is still that South Africa continues to be governed by a white minority regime and that the black majority still does not enjoy the right to vote and to be elected into organs of government. As long as this state of affairs prevails, the objectives of the consensus 1989 Declaration will remain unattained.

By adopting the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, Member States committed themselves to implementing the programme of action contained in the Declaration. This programme of action focused on the following course of action. First, the international community was to remain seized of the issue of a political resolution of the South African question. Secondly, it was to step up all-round support for the

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

opponents of apartheid. Thirdly, it was to use concerted and effective measures aimed at applying pressure to bring a speedy end to apartheid and to ensure that existing measures were not relaxed until there was clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of the Declaration.

Lest we forget, the objectives of the Declaration can only be said to have been achieved when the system of apartheid in South Africa has been eradicated and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

In conclusion, my delegation cannot overemphasize the importance of the unity of the oppressed, dispossessed and disadvantaged as they approach the closing chapters of the long history of their liberation struggle spanning over 300 years. As for the international community, posterity would judge us harshly if we failed to honour our commitment to implement the programme of action in the Declaration at this point in time, when the eradication of apartheid seems to be within reach.

Mr. JACOVIDES (Cyprus): For the past few years, the world has been witnessing dramatic changes towards a more peaceful, democratic and free era in inter-State and in intra-State relations. This new climate has had a significant impact on South Africa, too, but the road leading to the complete eradication of apartheid appears not to be an easy one and remains full of underlying, yet not insurmountable, obstacles.

The momentum of change sweeping through South Africa, which culminated in the process of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), was interrupted by the persistence of violence that reached a climax with the Boipatong and Ciskei massacres. The interruption of multiparty negotiations

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

and the reluctance exhibited by certain parties involved to participate actively in the established process indicate the fragility of the process towards a non-racial democracy. The broadest possible participation in the process of change and the fullest attainable representation during the transitional period and beyond are the only guarantees of the achievement of a commonly accepted constitution.

A number of positive changes in South Africa have offered us the hope that a constructive dialogue between all the parties is a realistic expectation. While welcoming the significant reforms which the South African Government has carried out, we remain concerned that a small part of the anachronistic apartheid legislation has not yet been abolished owing to procedural formalities.

The most important set-back to the broad-based negotiations for a non-racial democracy in South Africa that had been initiated was the abrupt escalation of violence, which not only cost the lives of a significant number of human beings but also threatens the very process of the peaceful transformation of South African society to a democratic one. The South African Government, like any Government, has the primary responsibility and means to end the ongoing violence and accordingly to protect the lives and property of all in South Africa.

It is our belief that the Government has to do more than it has done up to now, bearing in mind the widespread indictment of police members and security forces in criminal violence by the Goldstone Commission and by the courts. In addition, certain allegations that the majority of deaths in detention or police custody were attributable to police brutality augment the already high level of mistrust against the police, with evident consequences

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

for the success of the latter's duty to enforce law and order impartially in an institution that was already malfunctioning in this respect. The South African Government can contribute to an early winning of the mutual trust that is so direly needed by accepting a third-party assessment of the conduct of the police force in relation to the Boipatong massacre, by allowing the International Red Cross to have access to police stations, and by accommodating the new investigating powers of the Goldstone Commission.

Another obstacle to the complete elimination of apartheid has been the continued detention and/or imprisonment of people for their political beliefs. The continuation of the existence of political detainees contravenes the agreements reached last year between the two sides. On the positive side, we welcome the release of 150 political prisoners on 26 September this year. We also welcome the release of 42 political prisoners on 15 November and we express our hope that the agreement to release all remaining prisoners has now been fully implemented.

The Secretary-General's excellent report of 7 August 1992 stands as a milestone in the avenue of international efforts towards the complete eradication of apartheid. We commend the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for its initiative calling for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council, which led to the greater involvement of the Council in the effort to address the violence and also, more generally, to its direct encouragement of the process of change. One of the significant results of this involvement was the dispatch of the Secretary-General's Special Representative to South Africa and the report that followed, which contributed to calming feelings in an uneasy situation inside South Africa.

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

In this regard we also welcome the dispatch of some 50 United Nations observers to South Africa to work in coordination with the structures set up under the National Peace Accord to provide a framework and basis for putting an end to violence in the country. In this respect we join the members of the Security Council in calling upon the South African Government, parties and organizations, and the structures set up under the National Peace Accord, to extend full cooperation to the United Nations observers to enable them to carry out their tasks effectively.

Our praise also goes to the European Community, the Commonwealth and the Organization of African Unity, whose observers, in parallel with the United Nations observers, have been deployed in South Africa to offer their own contributions to the success of the peaceful transformation of South Africa to a non-racial democracy.

We also welcome the apology offered by President F.W. de Klerk early last month for his party's responsibility in introducing the obnoxious system of apartheid in South Africa. Since regret is the first step before redress, we hope this brave public declaration by President de Klerk will be complemented by further concrete positive steps towards ending this anachronistic and inhuman system and replacing it with a transitional administration that will prepare the ground for a non-racial democratic country.

We would like to praise the result of the referendum of 17 March 1992 held in South Africa, which, in parallel with the multi-party talks, has demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of South African people have committed themselves to the democratization process.

(Mr. Jacovides, Cyprus)

The Republic of Cyprus continues to follow developments in South Africa closely. Our position on the subject was aptly expressed in the words of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. George Vassiliou, in his address before the Assembly at its present session, on 22 September this year:

> "... we welcome the developments in South Africa that should lead to the end of the abhorrent regime of apartheid, in the hope that never again will any human beings on the face of this Earth be forced to live in conditions of racial, ethnic, religious or other separation from their fellow human beings." (A/47/PV.7, p. 22)

Until the system of apartheid has been finally dismantled it is vital that the United Nations continue to play an active role in South Africa. The international community, within the context of the need to respond appropriately to ongoing developments in South Africa, should continue to review existing restrictive measures as warranted by positive developments, such as agreement by the parties on transitional arrangements, and agreement on a new, non-racial democratic constitution. But we must not relax our vigilance unless and until the sinister system of racial separation, with all its connotations, has been brought to a complete and irreversible end in South Africa and everywhere else in the world.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 18 September 1992, I now call upon the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

Mr. MAKWETU (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the high office of

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President of the General Assembly. We are confident that your experience and diplomatic skills will guide the Assembly when it deliberates on important world issues.

The PAC would also like to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Shihabi of Saudia Arabia, for a task well executed.

The PAC also wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on his well deserved election and to express its appreciation for the excellent work he has already done in a short time.

The PAC has read with great interest the report submitted by the Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria. We wish to compliment the Special Committee for the dedicated manner in which it carried out its mandate of exposing the evils of apartheid and its destructive consequences and mobilizing support for our legitimate struggle.

The present phase of our legitimate struggle for national liberation and self-determination has the following characteristics: first, escalating violence; secondly, bilateral contacts; and, thirdly, growing international involvement. These three phenomena are occuring simultaneously in our country and, as a national liberation movement representing the aspirations of the oppressed and dispossessed majority, we are addressing all three issues. We are raising these issues in this Assembly because we require the support of the international community to deal with and resolve these issues.

Our country is at present bleeding. An average of eight persons are killed daily in senseless violence. Ever since de Klerk made his 2 February 1990 speech, which was interpreted as ushering in a change in apartheid South Africa, violence has escalated dramatically.

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Every day in our country the media reports stories related to activities carried out by the regime's security forces. Their involvement in the violence is now undeniable.

The PAC has consistently maintained that the principal cause of violence is the presence in our country of mercenaries invited by the illegal minority racist regime of South Africa, and paid and deployed by it. In our bilateral talks with the regime, the Minister of Police acknowledged the presence of mercenaries in the country and could not give a satisfactory answer on the need for their presence and against whom they are to be deployed. Our delegation was told by him that these mercenaries are good at tracking cattle thieves.

It is these trained killers that the regime used in Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe in the form of Buffalo Battalions 31 and 32, Koevoet Battalion, Renamo elements and the Selous Scouts respectively, which are responsible for many of the senseless killings that are taking place on commuter trains, in taxis, at bus stops and even at funerals. Persons who can walk onto a train and indiscriminately kill must be aware that they have no relatives or friends in that coach. And they have no next-of-kin because they are foreigners and not Azanians.

The PAC has consistently demanded the verifiable expulsion from the country under international supervision of these mercenaries, or alternatively their confinement under international supervision inside the country until the political problems are resolved. The international community, especially the United Nations, must assist the oppressed and dispossessed majority in this regard as the General Assembly has considered a convention on mercenaries.

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The other cause of violence is the so-called inter-party rivalry. The PAC, an organization committed to justice and democracy from its very inception, welcomes democratic inter-party rivalry provided it is not based on intimidation, coercion and threats. The PAC strongly believes that violence attributed to inter-party rivalry can best be contained and eradicated by quickly moving to an electoral process. Only a speedy democratization process can end the violence said to arise out of inter-party rivalry.

We wish to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that reports compiled by the United Nations fact-finding team, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) fact-finding team, Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and others are unanimous that the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania is not involved in the senseless carnage currently ravaging our country.

We are not only not involved in the senseless carnage, but have refused to stand by as passive observers. Recently I undertook to write both to Mr. Nelson Mandela, the President of the African National Congress, and Mr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President of the Inkatha Freedom Party, to express our grave concern over the escalating violence, especially in Natal and the Vaal area.

On receiving a positive response from the President of Inkatha, I led a delegation to Ulundi to discuss the issue of violence, in particular the violence between Inkatha and the ANC. In a joint communiqué of the PAC and Inkatha, Mr. Buthelezi agreed to PAC's mediating between Inkatha and the ANC. We considered this positive. We are now awaiting a positive response from the African National Congress to our mediation offer.

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Much has been said about the carrying of cultural weapons in our country. Some have made it an issue. But all observers agree that the majority of the people who have been killed were killed by high-velocity weapons and not cultural weapons.

The international community can greatly assist in putting an end to so-called inter-party rivalry by exerting pressure on the regime to speed up the establishment of an elected constituent assembly. This is the only effective way of ending so-called inter-party rivalry.

The other trend prevalent in our country is the series of bilateral talks. As of now, there exists no viable and functioning multilateral forum. In the bilateral talks between the PAC and the South African regime, it was agreed that a more representative forum must be established to pave the way for the elected constituent assembly. We are currently engaged in bilateral talks with those concerned towards forming that more representative forum.

The new, more representative forum must be guided by the principles of inclusivity and impartiality - basic requirements that were glaringly missing in the so-called Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). In the view of the PAC, the first item on the agenda of the more representative forum must be to set the date for voter registration with all Azanians over the age of 18 registering on a common voters' roll. This will help initiate the democratization process and test the sincerity of the regime.

Although it is a fact that at present talks are at bilateral level, the PAC strongly believes that the aim of such talks must be to establish a more representative multilateral forum and not to make bilateral deals.

As the evidence will show, the PAC of Azania has been principled and consistent in calling for a united front of the oppressed and dispossessed

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majority. We regard it as extremely important that the oppressed speak with one voice. Consequently, we spearheaded the formation of the Patriotic United Front. Whilst we succeeded in getting some 92 organisations to meet and agree on a common strategy, we must confess that the Patriotic United Front did not function in the manner the overwhelming majority of the participants had intended.

We agreed at the Patriotic United Front Conference in Durban, Natal in October 1991 to reconvene within six months to review the process. It is now over a year since then. The PAC fully supports the call by the overwhelming majority of the Front participants and the Organisation of African Unity for the early reconvening of the Patriotic United Front Conference, whose joint conveners are the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the African National Congress.

The situation in our country is extremely grave. Besides the escalating violence, we are experiencing the worst economic recession this century. Over seven million people are unemployed. Some 15 million people are living below the poverty datum line. Three thousand matriculants face unemployment come January 1993. In the first seven months of 1992, 1,367 business concerns were liquidated and 2,234 individuals declared insolvent. Needless to add that inflation has hit an all-time record.

Economists from across the political spectrum put the blame for this on the Reserve Bank's monetary policy, excessive spending by the regime, corruption, political uncertainty created by the regime's procrastination and ever-escalating state-sponsored violence. Hence it is obvious that the present regime is incapable of resolving the present economic crisis. The faster we move towards resolving the political problem through the mechanism

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of an elected constituent assembly, the quicker will we be able to address the economic crisis.

The present regime can govern under the present constitution only until September 1994. If there is no agreement between now and then, the regime will be compelled to hold another all-white election. Another all-white election will not be tolerated or accepted by our people, nor will it be accepted by the international community. Therefore, the regime must devise a mechanism which, it hopes, will extend its rule beyond September 1994 without having to give up effective power to the majority.

The mechanism it is contemplating is the interim government and an interim constitution. The PAC strongly rejects the formation of an interim government. In our view, side by side with the elected constituent assembly there should exist a transitional authority which would be responsible only for security, the budget, the national media and the electoral commission. The transitional authority should be a sovereign body. We urge the General Assembly not to permit the regime to extend its illegal, minority rule beyond September 1994 through the ploy of an interim government and an interim constitution.

In 1989, the General Assembly unanimously adopted the consensus Declaration. Our people welcome the provisions of the Declaration. The Declaration clearly undertook:

> "maintaining international pressure against the system of apartheid until that system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country with justice and security for all its citizens." (resolution S-16/1, 15th preambular para.)

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To date we have not even agreed on what forum we should employ to draw up a new, non-racial, democratic constitution, let alone on having a new constitution. Certainly there is no "justice and security for all".

Given this reality, therefore, it was premature to reward the minority regime with the lifting of pressures. We call on the international community to maintain all forms of pressure against the regime, not as a punitive exercise but to ensure that there is genuine movement towards democracy. The regime should not be allowed to plunge our country into a bloodbath, an economic morass and political uncertainty by pious declarations and statements of intent. The international community must take appropriate steps to ensure progress towards genuine democracy in our country.

The United Nations still maintains its arms embargo against the apartheid regime. We commend the Security Council for that. However, some countries are violating this resolution and selling sophisticated weapons to the regime. We will provide relevant details of such deals to the Special Committee against Apartheid.

Moreover, South Africa still possesses nuclear technology. The regime has not formally abandoned its nuclear programme. We urge the international community not to slacken its vigilance in the case of apartheid South Africa.

The PAC has also strongly condemned the exhibition which the South African Arms Corporation (ARMSCOR) will be holding this weekend in Johannesburg. There is evidence that the regime has become a major supplier of weapons to many oppressive regimes in many parts of the world. We urge United Nations Member States not to patronize the racist regime's armaments industry.

Our people are determined to liberate themselves. They are determined to employ all legitimate methods to achieve their inalienable rights in the land

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of their birth. Our struggle has enjoyed, and continues to enjoy, international support because our cause is just and legitimate. The international community is therefore duty-bound to render all help to our struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

Consequently, we urge the international community to continue to exert the maximum pressure on the minority regime. We welcome the presence of the United Nations in our country, but we strongly believe that the world body must play an active role in ending violence and in demanding the establishment of the democratic institution, the constituent assembly. Merely observing the violence and collecting statistics is not enough.

The struggle in which we are currently engaged is very similar to that of our Palestinian brothers and sisters in occupied Palestine. Hence we are not surprised by the close cooperation between the apartheid regime in South Africa and Israel in occupied Palestine. We have been encouraged by the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people against occupation. We extend our solidarity to the Palestinian people and our dear brother Yasser Arafat, President of the State of Palestine.

In conclusion, we wish to thank most sincerely the members of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the staff of the Centre against Apartheid and all those others in the United Nations system that have stood with us all these trying years. We urge them to continue their relentless effort until final victory.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.